## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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FM AMEMBASSY JIDDA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 927

SECRETSECTION 1 OF 2 JIDDA 0774

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, MASS, SA, US

SUBJECT: PRESENTATION OF F-15 SALE TO CONGRESS

REF: STATE 24580

RESPONDING TO REFTEL WE HAVE THESE GENERAL OBSERVATIONS TO MAKE:

1. THAT THE EXCHANGES OF THE LAST WEEK HAVING TO DO WITH THE POSSIBLE DELAY OF THE SUBMISSION OF THE F-15 SALE TO CONGRESS HAVE PROVIDED US WITH SEVERAL VALUABLE INSIGHTS INCLUDING:

(A)THE BASIC FRAGILITY OF THE "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP" BETWEEN U.S. AND SAG. EVEN THE SUGGESTION OF A DELAY CAUSED A SUSPICION TO ARISE THAT THE U.S. WAS SEEKING TO RENEGE IN WHOLE OR IN PART ON THE COMMITMENT. THIS SUSPICION WAS IMMEDIATELY EVIDENCED BY THE INITIAL SAUD REACTION (JIDDA 0632) AND SPREAD LIKE AN EPIDEMIC-TYPE VIRUS THREATTENING TO INFECT OUR ENTIRE RELATIONSHIP WITH SAG. THIS OCCURRED DESPITE REPEATED ASSURANCES THAT THE COMMITMENT WAS A FIRM ONE AND THE DISCUSSION WAS EXPLORATORY FOR TACTICAL SECRET

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PURPOSES ONLY.

(B) THAT THE SAUDIS FEEL A DEEP SENSE OF INSECURITY WHICH IS A MAJOR CONTRIBUTING FACTOR TO THEIR SUPER-SENSITIVITY ABOUT THIS DEFENSE-ORIENTED ITEM. THEY KNOW EVEN THOUGH THEY DO NOT WANT TO ADMIT THAT THEIR ULTIMATE SECURITY RESTS WITH THE UNITED STATES. ANY INDICATION, NO MATTER HOW SLIGHT, OF THE U.S.'S UNWILLING-

NESS TO RECOGNIZE THEIR OBLIGATION TO PROTECT SAG STRIKES A SENSITIVE NERVE.

(C) THE SENSITIVITY OF THE SAUDIS TO THEIR ROLE IN THE US-SAG "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP." IT WAS MADE APPARENT THAT THE SAUDIS FEEL THAT THE RELATIONSHIP FROM THEIR STANDPOINT HAS BEEN MORE GIVE THAN TAKE IN RECENT MONTHS. THEIR NOT SO VEILED REFERENCES TO THE OIL PRICE FREEZE HAVE REMINDED ME THAT THEY ARE NOT IMMUNE TO THE HUMAN INSTINCTS ILLUSTRATED BY THE CLASSIC POLITICAL STORY TOLD SO WELL BY THE LATE VICE PRESIDENT BARKEEY, THE PUNCH LINE BEING: "WHAT HAVE YOU DONE FOR ME LATELY?" (D) THE BASIC SKEPTICISM THAT STILL EXISTS WITHIN THE SAG AS TO THE ULTIMATE SUCCESS OF THE SADAT MOVES. AHMED WAHAB, CHIEF OF ROYAL PROTOCOL, AND A STRONG SUPPORTER OF THE SADAT INITIATIVE. INVITED ISA SABBAGH AND ME TO DINNER AFTER OUR MEETING WITH FAHD. ALSO IN ATTENDANCE WERE FORMER AMBASSADOR AKINS AND MOHAMMED ALIREZA, FORMER SAUDI AMBASSADOR TO EGYPT AND FRANCE.

- 2. WAHAB MADE THE POINT THAT AFTER OUR MEETING WITH FAHD, THERE WAS A COUNCIL OF MINISTERS' MEETING AND A LARGE MAJORITY OF THOSE PRESENT FELT THAT SADAT HAD PREMATURELY GIVEN AWAY THE FAMILY STORE WITH NO VALID CURRENCY IN EXCHANGE.
- 3. THE SAG PARTY LINE THEREFORE IS STILL THAT ONLY SECRET

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USG AND USG ALONE CAN SALVAGE SADAT BY PUTTING PRESSURE ON BEGIN FOR CONCESSIONS NECESSARY FOR PEACE: FEW IN SAG BELIEVE THAT THIS WILL HAPPEN. MOST OFFICIAL-DOM HERE BELIEVE IN SINCERITY OF CARTER COMMITMENT, BUT WOEFULLY FEW BELIEVE USG CAN OR WILL WITHSTAND BOTH THE COMBINATION OF (A) ISRAELI PRESSURE ON ADMINISTRATION AND (B) THE PRESSURE THAT ISRAELI LOBBY CAN AND IS BRINGING TO BEAR SO EFFECTIVELY ON THE CONGRESS AS IS EVIDENCED BY PRESENT F-15 SITUATION.

- 4. THEREFORE, THE SAUDIS SEE EITHER A COMPLETE BREAKDOWN OR AT BEST A FURTHER STALEMATE IN THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI TALKS RATHER THAN A BROADENING TO INCLUDE OTHERARAB STATES. THEY IN TURN SEE A DETERIORATION OF THE MID-EAST SITUATION WITH THE U.S. HAVING TO MAKE A DECISION AS TO WHETHER TO FAVOR ISRAEL ON CRITICAL MATTERS SUCH AS ARMS (FOR EGYTP AND SAG) AND ECONOMIC AID (EGYPT).
- 5. BASED ON PAST PERFORMANCE, THEY FEEL THAT PROBABILITIES FAVOR CONTINUATION OF PRO-ISRAELI POLICISE OF USG. THEREFORE ACTION ON F-15 MATTER BECOMES IMMEDIATE LITMUS TEST TO CONFIRM OR DENY THESE SUSPICIONS AT EARLIEST

## POSSIBLE TIME.

6. WITH RESPECT TO REFTEL'S COMMENTS RE RETURN FOR CONSULTATION, WE OFFER THESE COMMENTS WITH APOLOGY IF NECESSARY FOR PERSONAL REFERENCES:
(A) I PERSONALLY DO NOT RELISH PROSPECT OF RETURN TO U.S. AT THIS TIME: WEATHER REPORTS INDICATE COLD, I.E., ICE AND SNOW IN WASHINGTON, WHILE SAUDI CLIMATE IS STILL CONDUCIVE TO MIDDAY SUNNING AND SNORKELING, EVEN THOUGH EVENTS OF LAST FEW WEEKS HAVE PERMITTED NONE OF SAME; HOWEVER
(B) ANYTHING SHORT OF UNQUALIFIED SUBMISSION TO CONGRESS OF SALE OF 60 F-15'S WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS WILL NOT

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SATISFY COMPLETELY SAG.

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(C) THEREFORE ANY CHANGE, MODIFICATION OR DELAY BEYOND VERY SHORT PERIOD WILL HAVE EXTREMELY NEGATIVE EFFECT HERE GIVEN SUPER-SENSITIVE POSTURE OF SAG TOP OFFICIALDOM;
(D) IF ANY ACTION IS CONTEMPLATED SHORT OF IMMEDIATE, COMPLETE FULFILLMENT OF COMMITMENT AS PERCEIVED BY SAUDIS, IT SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN WITHOUT FURTHER PRIOR CONSULTATION INCLUDING SCENARIO OF WEST GOES TO WASHINGTON.
(E) IF UNILATERAL ACTION IS TAKEN INVOLVING LESS THAN COMPLETE FULFILLMENT OF COMMITMENT AS PERCEIVED BY SAUDIS,

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FM AMEMBASSY JIDDA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 928

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

AND SUCH HAPPESNS WITHOUT USG HONORING SPECIFIC FAHD REQUEST THAT I RETURN TO WASHINGTON WITH HIS PLEA, THEN WE BELIEVE "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP" WILL BE SUBJECTED TO ADDITIONAL UNNECESSARY STRAIN, THE SERIOUSNESS OF WHICH WE CANNOT JUDGE WITH CONFIDENCE AT THIS TIME.

7. WE DO FEEL STRONGLY THAT WE SHOULD NOT, RPT NOT, RUN THE RISK OF THIS LATTER (E) ALTERNATIVE AT THIS TIME. WEST

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